Surára
Pakidái

/23 cont./

411 individual archers. The aforementioned men then shot three arrows into the air successively (one with a large lancet-shaped point, one with a small lancet-shaped point, and one with a bone point), and each one hit the leaf, usually even the center of it. This Indian [114] ability to hit targets even with an indirect shot has already been pointed out by Friederici and substantiated in the sources (107).

107. Friederici, 1907, p. 329.

I also observed, however, that not all the men were equally good archers, although from childhood on, of course, they are constantly handling bow and arrow. My servant Mateus and I each carried a shotgun, 20 caliber, with us, and the use of our guns aroused the interest of only a few men. The aforementioned three Surára and the Pakidái, however, as well as several other warriors, after a very short time, knew how to handle them just as well as bow and arrow.

[114] Koch-Grünberg came to similar conclusions on his journeys, for he writes: "This is not to say that every Indian is an accomplished hunter. Among these people, too, talents and inclinations are unevenly distributed..." (108).

108. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 59.

[422] It should be mentioned further that bows and arrows repre-
[796] sent the most valuable private property of every man, and they
● [155] also play a large part in all magical and religious practices (cures of the sick, festivals, dances, etc.). Furthermore, the weapons
[437] are favorite trade items and gifts of honor which the Surára and
[431] Pakidái occasionally receive from the Xiriána or give the latter during visits (see pp. 13, 159/160). A young man who wants to
[584] marry a girl must also first make a bow and five different arrows for his future father-in-law. /24/ If a warrior dies, his weapons
[764] are burned with him, so that he may use them on his journey to the moon and on the moon itself (see p.150).

411 Before the Surára and Pakidái adopted the large reverse flat
173 bow from the Xiriána, I was told, their forefathers were acquainted with only The branch-bow.

Surára
Pakidái

884 /67 cont./
86 poisonous snake of South America, which is over three meters
[302] long. The painting is supposed to help to banish the dangers that
825 emanate from this and other poisonous snakes. As daily nourish-
[262] ment the two candidates may take only a ripe banana and half a
liter of water. After two months they are very thin and appear to
[276] be nothing but skin and bones. In order to suppress their feeling
of hunger and thirst, they constantly have the roll of tobacco
mixed with water and ashes between their lower or upper lip and
[782] teeth (see p.190). Moreover, they must blow large pinches of
[276] the snuff-powder into each other's noses several times a day in
order to make contact with the gigantic animal and plant spirits --
hekurá. Thus, they pass their training period in a regular trance-
state.

884 It is worth noting that the initiation rites of the male members
756 of the tribe take place comparatively late, and that in this way
776 all the men are gradually trained as medicine-man helpers.
Through this, the Surára chief Hewemão explained to me, they
are able to protect themselves and their families against sickness
and accidents in an emergency. If, for example, a man is
threatened along the way by a poisonous snake or a jaguar, he is
now in a position to banish the danger by calling upon the tutelary
spirits. He must never fail to thank the hekurá after a successful
hunting expedition or a good harvest, however, for otherwise he
● 755 would incur their anger. Even when his wife, one of his children,
[753] or a relative falls ill, he himself must first try, by means of song
and dance in which he addresses the hekurá, to hurl the sickness
back to the hostile tribe from which it was sent. Only if his efforts
remain unsuccessful may he appeal for the aid of the chief, who
is always willing and, with the help of 8-9 assistants, carries out a
great rekurá (cure). Thus, during the day /68/ or at night among
the Surára and Pakidái one frequently sees one man, or often even
several men, praying or attempting to cure a member of the
[276] family. Before that, however, they must take snuff-powder because
contact with the hekurá can be made only in a state of intoxica-
[533] tion. The songs are somewhat monotonous and are combined with
animal sounds, animal movements, such as the beating of wings,
hopping, etc.

Surára
Pakidái

/68 cont./

● 755 884 86 hopping, etc. The other members of the tribe pay no attention to such prayers and magic performances. Only the chiefs and their student helpers sometimes listen more carefully. Then it sometimes happened that Hewemãõ would shake his head and tell me that this or that man was praying all wrong, he had undoubtedly not paid sufficient attention during the lessons. If he notes such deficiencies often, it may happen that he will request the man in question to take part in another two-month training course in order to increase his knowledge.

756 171 There is evidence that this type of training, in similar form, occurs among the Jívaro, where prospective shamans receive instruction for one month, in the course of which the neophyte must also fast and drink various drugs, including tobacco juice and cayapi. The training costs, however, are very high (329).

329. Stirling, 1938, pp. 117/18.

756 884 For the young Surára and Pakidái men the instruction is free, to be sure, but mandatory.

834 833 j) Sex life

The behavior of the sexes toward each other in public is extraordinarily decent. Kisses, embraces, or other manifestations of affection are unknown to them. Physical demonstrations of love are carried out in the forest, away from the maloka, or in the dark of night when it is assumed that the other members of the tribe are sleeping. Hunting expeditions also offer a favorable opportunity, for the wife occasionally accompanies her husband. [595] Since some men have two wives, they go hunting in turn with the first and with the second.

843 837 [593] If a woman is pregnant, she is supposed to come together frequently with other men, for it is believed that only through this can her child become stronger. It must occur in all secrecy, however, for if her husband surprises her during coitus with a lover, he challenges the latter to a stick duel, and she herself will be abused by him (330).

330. Becher, 1959, p. 162.

/96 cont./

2. Curing the Sick

754 825 [953] a) General

All sickness is attributed to hostile witch-doctors, especially those of the Waikâ (493). As carriers they use the gavião-real

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493. The idea that sickness is caused by witch doctors is so widespread in South America that from the large number of examples I should like to quote only two authors for comparison: Roth, 1915, p. 346; Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 192.

gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.) and the bat. Both animals are therefore designated generally as -- nonexí --, that is, evil spirit or spirit of sickness (494) (495). If such an animal is sighted,

494. Nonexí, however, is also the specific name of the gavião-real.

495. Zerries documents the same name, "noneshi" or "nonish," for the Waikâ. With it, however, they designate the shadow-soul or the alter ago (Zerries, 1958a, p. 108).

it is immediately killed, in order to prevent a misfortune. Moreover, it is assumed that with its death a hostile medicine man, who, of course, temporarily inhabits it, has breathed his last. The down feathers of the gavião-real are therefore glued into the hair for a few days as a trophy (see p. 95).

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755 If a member of the tribe has fallen ill, he can be cured only by having the chief, who among the Surára and Pakidái is at the same time the medicine man, and his helpers try to hurl the sickness back to the enemies. This can be done, however, only in the snuff-powder intoxication and by invoking

Surara
Pakidai

/96 cont./

755 the hekurá, and best of all at night by moonlight (496). All

[174 196] 496. The hekurá are the intermediaries between human beings and the united Supreme Being Poré/Perimbó (see pp. 199 ff.).

day long, usually one or two or sometimes even several men make preliminary attempts at healing. For all sicknesses there are very definite texts, melodies, and dance steps, which are taught the young men by their chief during a two-months' training course (see pp. 143/145). If the patient dies despite all efforts, the people yield to a certain fatalism, for in that case the power of the hostile medicine man was simply stronger (497).

[191] 497. The same thing is reported by Koch-Grünberg about the Arekuná-Taulipang (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 202), Richard Schomburgk about the Warrau (Richard Schomburgk, 1847, p. 172), and Barrère as well as Quandt about the Galibi and Arowaken (Barrère, 1743, pp. 216/17; Quandt, 1807, p. 260), to mention only a few parallels.

755 For the reasons mentioned, there is only suggestive therapy,
757 supplemented by fasting and treatment with cold water. In the latter case a patient, even with the highest fever, must drink a great deal of water and take frequent baths in the nearby river or brook. He is also often exposed to pouring /97/ rain (Ill. 49), since it is assumed that it has healing powers because it comes from the rain tree of the moon (see p. 199). Sick persons who are already too weak and are unable to leave their hammocks are doused with cold water at regular intervals (498).

[191] 498. Treatment with cold water is widespread in South America. For comparison

Surára
Pakidái

/97 cont./

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498. (cont.)
I should like to mention the Kaskihá Indians in the northeastern Chaco, among whom the witch doctor tries to heal the sick in the same way (Baldus, 1931, p. 143).

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During my nine-months' stay among the Surára and Pakidái the following sicknesses occurred there: grippe, pneumonia, malaria, chicken pox, and a gastric fever; fortunately, none was fatal (499). But the two Surára women who had pneumonia,

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499. Only the Pakidái youth Hokotómarimá died after a fall from a pupunha palm, which probably caused internal injuries (see p. 149).

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But the two Surára women who had pneumonia, first a young woman, Xunamí, the wife of Kurikayawõ, the younger brother of the chief, and later an older woman, Xanimá, the approximately 47-year-old mother of Anyarawõ (see pp. 123/125), and a boy, Xaniwõ (see p. 127), about 12 years old, would probably not have survived without the penicillin that I had brought along, for, in spite of untiring treatment by the chief and his helpers, their condition grew worse from day to day. In the first instance, the chief, Hewemão, and the husband, Kurikayawõ, finally permitted me to give Xunamí a penicillin injection in the upper arm on two successive days, whereupon she improved dramatically (500). In the second and third cases,

500. This cure increased my reputation tremendously, so that afterward I was properly adopted into the tribe of the Surára and, on the occasion of the great festival in memory of the dead, was also permitted to drink the banana soup mixed with the bone ashes of deceased relatives (see p. 231). If the woman had died after the injection, however, the intervention could have had grave consequences for me.

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[755] [959] [123] [177] the chief even asked me to give the patients "penicilina" after his healing efforts had again brought no success.

Of the various cures at which I was allowed to be present, I should like to describe in detail the following two treatments:

b) Magic cure (rekurá) for Xunamí:

Xunamí, the young, pretty wife of Kurikayawõ, fell ill quite suddenly. She had a high fever, lay apathetically in her hammock, and complained of severe chest pains. Her husband, [593] [757] who, with touching devotion, remained with her throughout the first day, that is, he sat beside her or lay in his hammock, led her several times to the nearby small river, in which she always remained for some time and drank copious amounts. She was not permitted to eat anything, but she had no desire to do so. During the night, the fever seemed to climb, for she was quite delirious and unable to sleep soundly. The next day she felt [757] even worse. Three times in the forenoon and as often in the afternoon her husband took her to the river, but there was no improvement after the baths and the drinking. At noon on the third day the husband, together with two other men, began [302] the first special cure. First of all, Kurikayawõ and the second participant painted serpentine lines on their faces and bodies with urucú, while the third one rubbed himself all over with soot. Then they all three blew snuff-powder into each other's noses and in a few minutes they were in a state of ecstasy in which they leaped wildly about the sick woman lying in her hammock, shouted loudly, and gesticulated. Then, however, the cure followed very definite directions. The man painted completely black symbolically represented the spirit of sickness -- nonexí -- whom a hostile medicine man had conjured into the body of the sick woman, and the other two men, who now identified themselves with the hekurá (see p. 200), staged a sham battle against him. At first they were armed with large sticks and beat "nonexí" in order to kill him. But he defended himself with all his might. Then he hurled arrows at him, which, however, he threw back. After that the /98/ spirit of sickness stuck a carrying basket on his head, and this suddenly fell off. At once, the other two men

/98 cont./

1755 [535] beat quite hard upon the basket with their sticks, in order to give the sickness the finishing blow. All the movements were executed in a dance rhythm, two steps forward and one back, during which the "hekurá" uninterruptedly sang the words ho-he-hi-ha-ſk, ho-he-hi-ha-ſk, while "nonexí" uttered shrill sounds in between. At first the "battle" was enacted at some distance from the sick woman, but during the "argument" they drew nearer to her. "Nonexí" now danced alone at the head end of Xunamí, and the two "hekurá" stroked the body of the sick woman and sucked at it. Then they vomited, and one of them suddenly took a stone out of his mouth, and the other, a piece of wood. With shrill cries they threw these objects away, while "nonexí," who was still at the head end of the patient, crouched down and started to whimper loudly. With the stone and the piece of wood the sickness was to be hurled back to the Waiká. Then the sham battle between "nonexí" and the "hekurá" began anew, frequently interrupted by the sucking and stroking of the body of the sick woman, who suffered everything indifferently. Meanwhile the men kept blowing snuff-powder into each other's noses. For four hours the treatment went on, but there was no improvement to be seen in Xunamí; rather, she grew worse. The sick woman was then set on the ground in front of her hammock, and two other men, this time only personified hekurá, continued the treatment in snuff-powder intoxication, in that they danced around the woman, sang, and screamed loudly. In between, they stroked Xunamí's body and sucked out little stones, which they spat upon, licked, and then rubbed against their own bodies before they hurled them away with shrill cries. Now and then they also struck out with hands and feet and threatened an invisible foe. Occasionally they spat and stepped on the sputum with gestures of repugnance. Then the patient was again placed in her hammock and doused with cold water.

As a result of the high fever and long fasting, Xunamí was already very weak. But during the coming night a very great rekurá (magic cure; see also p. 211) was to be performed, and, to be sure, by Chief Hewemão and eight helpers. (The chief

/98 cont./

•765 intervenes only if the day-cures of individual men have been unsuccessful.) Immediately after darkness set in, the men assembled, eight of whom, including the chief, had painted their faces and bodies with red serpentine lines, while the ninth was blackened with soot. A little to one side of the sick woman they formed a circle around the large clay plate standing in the center, upon which there was snuff-powder. They blew considerable amounts of this into each other's noses and then danced around in a circle, singing loudly and shouting. This, as the chief later explained to me, was to establish contact with the hekurá. These preparations lasted about half an hour. Then, dancing and singing, they drew nearer to the sick woman. This time she stood in front of her hammock, held by her husband, who had slipped his arms under hers and folded them over her chest, for she was no longer able to stand alone. Shouting loudly, the men danced around her several times and then leaped into the inner circle of the large, open maloka, where, in great rage, they hurled away invisible objects. Then they spat upon them and trampled furiously on these imaginary objects, at the same time uttering loud threats against the Waiká. After that they danced and leaped in apparent disorder back and forth between the sick woman, whose body they stroked a few times at each encounter, and the inner court of the maloka, during which they now and then shouted loudly, executed wild leaps, and at the same time turned in a circle. Whenever they came outside the dwelling part, they again tossed away invisible objects. This dancing, leaping, and shouting, the motions of /99/ casting away, the bending of the knees, the pointing forward and upward with the hands seemed to be utter confusion, and the noise that went with it was indescribable. After that the chief and his brother danced alone for about 40 minutes around the sick woman, who meanwhile was being held by another man. They blew in her direction and sucked at her body, at the same time massaging it. By turns they leaped a few meters backward and threw away imaginary objects. -- Meanwhile the eight medicine-man helpers had moved away a bit from the hearth. The man blackened with soot lay on the ground, symbolically portraying the evil

/99 cont./

755 nonexí, while the other seven, who, exactly like the chief and his brother, identified themselves with the hekurá, danced and leaped around him. They kicked at him with their feet, uttered invectives, threatened him with their fists, and beat him. Suddenly, "nonexí" tried to flee, but the other men quickly caught up with him and threw the "evil spirit of sickness" to the ground again. They tapped his body, sucked at it, and spat over him. In fact, they even beat him symbolically with sticks. Then a stone weighing two kilograms was placed on the abdomen of "nonexí," was picked up again after a short time, and was hurled away. At that the fiendish noise suddenly ceased. Chief Hewemãõ squatted before the sick woman, completely absorbed within himself. Behind him crouched his brother Kurikayawõ, who stroked his body and head and lightly tapped his back. Complete silence prevailed; only the moaning of the chief and of the sick woman was to be heard, frequently interrupted by the loud sighs of the former. The other seven "hekurá" meanwhile squatted silently around the prostrate "nonexí." The sick woman now sat between the legs of the man who had hitherto supported her. After the chief had concentrated, which lasted about 30 minutes, all the participants in the rekurá formed a circle around Xunamí. The chief crouched directly opposite her, face to face with her, and commenced to sing loudly in a wonderful baritone voice, while the other eight men, with the exception of the "nonexí," joined in chorus. It was a part song and so melodious that it sounded to me like an organ. Now and then the medicine-man helpers stood up and walked, singing, around the patient, while the chief stroked her body from head to foot, massaged her, tapped her, and sucked at her. Each time he would spit out imaginary objects, whereupon the other men always broke out in loud cries of "oh" and "ah." This choral singing and the manipulations accompanying it lasted for about three hours. Then Hewemãõ sucked especially vigorously on Xunamí's body, while his hands kept stroking her downwards. All at once there was a stone weighing about one kilogram in his right hand, and three small stones, two pieces of wood, and two fingernails in his left. He had sucked all these

/99 cont./

755 objects out of her body and now hurled them away with gestures of disgust, amid the loud shouts of "oh" and "ah" by his helpers. During this sucking and stroking, the chorus of all the "hekurá" standing in a circle swelled to tremendous power and subsided only after Hewemãõ slowly withdrew, for his work was ended for the time being. He was bathed in sweat and, completely exhausted, lay down in his hammock, where his two wives provided him with a nourishing meal consisting of roasted tapir meat, manioc flat-cakes, and a bacaba drink.

The sick woman was not released, however, even after this five-hour cure. From 11:00 to 1:00 at night the husband and the medicine-man helpers continued it in the manner described above. The main thing was the choral singing and the dancing in step, with occasional sitting, stroking the sick woman, sucking, threatening hand movements toward an invisible opponent, spitting, etc. added. At 1:00 two more men dropped out, including the husband. The latter now lifted his wife up and laid her in her /100/ hammock, then he crouched beside her and tenderly supported her head. For about another two hours the medicine-man helpers went on singing and "curing" and after that one alone until around 5:00. Only then could the sick woman surrender herself for a short time to a well-earned rest (501). Many other members of the tribe watched this magic

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501. If patients have become very much worse, they are kept awake as much as possible to prevent their life from escaping. For if they fall asleep, death might take possession of them.

performance, above all women, who wept softly during it. They crouched in a semicircle at a somewhat greater distance and watched the proceedings with rapt attention, but only as long as the chief was acting. When he finished his work, the spectators gradually disappeared.

Unfortunately, all efforts remained unsuccessful in this case, and Hewemãõ confessed to me the next day, when the sick woman

/100 cont./

755 was much worse, that this time the power of the Waikâ medicine
123 men was extraordinarily great. I then proposed to him that I
177 should give Xunamî penicillin injections. After lengthy consultations with the husband and other male members of the tribe he consented, though with misgivings, and luck was with the patient as well as with me. From this moment on the name penicilina (Portuguese spelling) became a magic word, for it had helped to cast away the sickness. Hewemãõ even asked me to bring him a great deal of it on my next visit.

755 c) Magic cure (rekurâ) for Xanimâ:

Xanimâ, the approximately 47-year-old mother of
[164] Anyarawõ (see p. 126), had been ill for five days with chicken
pox and had had persistently high fever. At first she, too, was
[757] given the water cures, that is, she constantly had to take baths in the river and drink a great deal of water; as her weakness increased, she remained lying in her hammock and was doused with cold water. After that there were sham battles between two "hekurâ" and the bad, black-colored spirit of sickness, "nonexî."

When there was no improvement, Chief Hewemãõ and eight helpers again arranged a large, nocturnal rekurâ, but this time a somewhat different one, because, of course, a different
[302] sickness was involved (502). At first the men, eight with red

502. As has been mentioned above (see p. 212), every sickness has very definite texts, melodies, and dance steps.

serpentine lines painted on their faces and bodies and one colored black, in the light of the hearth, again formed a circle around the large clay plate standing in the middle, on which snuff-
[296] powder had been poured. They filled their snuff tubes with generous amounts of it and blew it into each other's noses, whereupon, after a few minutes, the state of ecstasy set in. The men hopped around their own axis several times, and, after a hissing sound on the part of the chief and with prolonged shrill

/100 cont./

755 cries in the most diverse tones, they rushed toward the sick woman. They were like a wild horde, for the participants screamed at the top of their voices, bent their knees, leaped into the air, and shook their fists at an invisible foe. After a renewed hissing sound by Hewemão, they formed a circle around the sick woman lying in her hammock, and each man placed both hands on the shoulders of the one standing in front of him. With swaying dance steps, two forward and one back, 535 533 during which they sang ho-he-hi-ha-fk, ho-he-hi-ha-fk, they walked around the patient for some time. Then Hewemão hissed for the third time, whereupon the song ceased. Then the chief 755 struck up a melodious song which his helpers underscored with 533 humming. Meanwhile, with swaying step, they continued to 535 move around the sick woman, their hands always on the shoulders of the man in front as before. After 15 minutes Hewemão hissed again, and then they laid their hands crossed upon the shoulders of the one walking ahead. At the same time all the men joined in the song /101/ of the chief, and again they sang in parts. This choral singing, together with the dancing in step, lasted another 20 minutes. Then the chief and his brother Kurikayawõ placed themselves opposite each other at the head end of the patient and struck up an alternate song. At the foot end squatted two helpers who also faced each other and hummed softly. A short distance behind the head end two more helpers danced back and forth with faces turned toward each other; they were also humming, and occasionally they uttered bird-like sounds; they frequently ran their fingers through their hair and then always passed them downward over their seats.

755 Meanwhile the other three men, two painted red, the one black-colored, that is to say, two "hekurã" and "nonexf," were carrying on a sham battle beyond the foot end of Xanimã, in a manner similar to that already described on page 216. In the meantime the daughter-in-law of the sick woman had raised her up and had seated herself behind her in the hammock, at the same time supporting the old woman with both arms. Then when the sham combat was ended, and the bad "nonexf" lay on the

/101 cont./

755 ground and the two "hekurá" crouched beside him as "victors," a part song by all the participants began once more. At the same time the chief stroked the head and then the body of the sick woman. Then he started to suck at her, first at her head, then on the chest, on the stomach, and on the thighs. Then he uttered shrill cries and vomited. At this moment the singing ceased and all the helpers uttered loud cries of "ah" and "oh." Thereupon Hewemão hurled invisible objects to one side, which was always accompanied by ah and oh shouts of the other men. Then a chorus was struck up anew. This part of the magic performances lasted more than two hours. After the chief had sucked stones and pieces of wood out of the body of the sick woman and hurled them away amid animated cries of ah and oh by the helpers, however, the volume of the singing increased and was followed by shrill cries which ended in a general humming. -- After that there was complete silence. The men sat down in a circle around Xanimá, and each one leaned his head against his knees, for all were visibly exhausted, especially the chief and his brother. The wives of the latter, however, had seated themselves behind them and stroked their heads and shoulders and gently tapped their backs in order to give the weary ones new strength, for during the curing process they had completely spent themselves. The sick woman, too, could now lie down again. She had her eyes closed and one could see how exhausted she was from sitting up so long. After the noise that had been going on, the stillness had a very strange effect. But after only 15 minutes one of the medicine-man helpers arose; he began dancing in a circle around the sick woman, during which he softly sang. Meanwhile, however, clouds had passed before the moon and a heavy rain set in. Hewemão then decided to break off the session and continue it at dawn. "For with a [821] darkened sky," he said, "without the co-operation of the moon, it would be impossible to free the woman from her sickness." He left behind with the moaning Xanimá, shaken with fever chills, two helpers who crouched to the right and left of her head end and hummed softly, in order that, as Hewemão told

/101 cont./

● 755 me, contact with the hekurá would not be broken. Toward 4:30, the rain had stopped in the meantime, the nine men once more gathered around the sick woman and continued the cure for another two hours in the manner described above. By forenoon the fever was gone and the woman was on the way to recovery. She and every other member of the tribe were convinced that Hewemão had hurled the evil spirit of sickness, nonexí, back to the Waiká. Even Hewemão himself firmly believes that in the snuff-powder intoxication and with the help of the hekurá and the moon he is able to ward off sickness and accidents and to cast them out.

/102/ The two above-described magic performances for warding off two different diseases show a certain external pattern. Each cure begins with the taking of snuff-powder, which causes the chief and his helpers to fall into a state of ecstasy and to identify themselves with the hekurá. There follows the invocation of the hekurá, which is reinforced by wild gestures, then the sham struggle between two or more "hekurá" and the spirit of sickness, "nonexí." After that, very definite texts, melodies, and dances are used for each sickness. Unforgettable [533] for me are the choral part-songs which contain the requests to the hekurá and the serras, who, in turn, relay them to Poré/Perimbó (see pp. 197 ff.) (503).

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503. I deeply regret that I was unable to record these songs on a sound track. Unfortunately, the tape recorder which the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft had sent by courier to the German Consulate in São Paulo before the start of my expedition was damaged by an employee there. Without permission, he had unpacked it and tinkered with it. Thus, I can only hope that on a subsequent expedition I shall have an opportunity to record these songs.

Surára
Pakidái

/102 cont./

755 I was allowed to take part as a spectator in all the cures,
[123] and each rel[illegible] was a new, great experience for me. I was
755 amazed at the devotion, passion, and fervor with which the
756 chief and his helpers interceded with all their physical and
622 psychic powers to ward off the sicknesses of their fellow-tribesmen (504). This explains why the Surára and Pakidái

[123]

504. The same care was bestowed upon me, the stranger. If I had an attack of malaria, the chief and his helpers likewise danced around me, and they sang in chorus while Hewemão stroked my body, massaged it, and sucked at it. He was of the opinion that the Waikâ had poisoned my blood because I lived in friendship with the Surára and had brought them so many beautiful gifts.

have such boundless confidence in their chiefs and are absolutely convinced of their magic powers. It is doubtless due to this unshakable faith that so many of the sick can be cured (505).

505. I never saw the chiefs demand a fee for their cures. The members of the tribe show their appreciation, however, by continuously offering their chiefs larger or smaller gifts (see p. 130).

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755 In this context I should like to cite the following very re-
756 vealing description by Herbert Baldus: "The witch doctors were
114 simply called imposters by early travelers, and even today all whites who are incapable of understanding the mentality of the Indian are of the same opinion. One forgets that, as a result of the suggestibility of the primitive, the magic practices not only essentially help the sick person and rid his relatives of their fears, but also weave such a spell around the practitioner himself that it is impossible to decide to what extent he is acting in good

/102 cont./
755 756 114 faith and to what extent he is faking" (506). The fact that

506. Baldus, 1931, p. 142.

even in modern medicine great importance is now attributed to the suggestive influence of the physician on his patients is shown in the following statements by Hans Grimm: "If we emphasize that the suggestive influence of the physician's personality on the patient is often of decisive influence (Jores), if we use hypnosis, the so-called 'autogenous training,' etc., we are, in our own way, returning to what was already playing a role in shamanistic techniques" (507).

507. Grimm, 1958/59, p. 357.

769 3. Religious Festivals

Every year, toward the end of the dry season, March-April, the Surára and Pakidái jointly celebrate the festival in memory of the dead -- patapáanomãõ -- (508). It always takes

[192] 508. This contains the word for corpse, the male or female dead person -- anomãõ.

place in the large, open Surára maloka Jaracá (see pp. 25 ff.). Occasionally a few families of friendly tribes (Xiriána, Puseheweteri, Aramamesteri, etc.) also take part. The [114] patapáanomãõ festival, which I witnessed in all its phases, /103/ was held during the period from the fourth to the sixth of 769 April, 1956. But even before that there were great preparations 251 for this purpose. The men set out on a joint hunting expedition in order to kill as many tapirs as possible, the meat of which was then roasted on roasting racks over an even fire, not too hot, until it was black and bone-hard, so that it could be kept for a

2: Becher--281 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
/16/
Surára
Pakidái
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Ill. 49. Curing the sick in pouring rain. (Five Surára medicine-man helpers dance around a youth sick with chicken pox)

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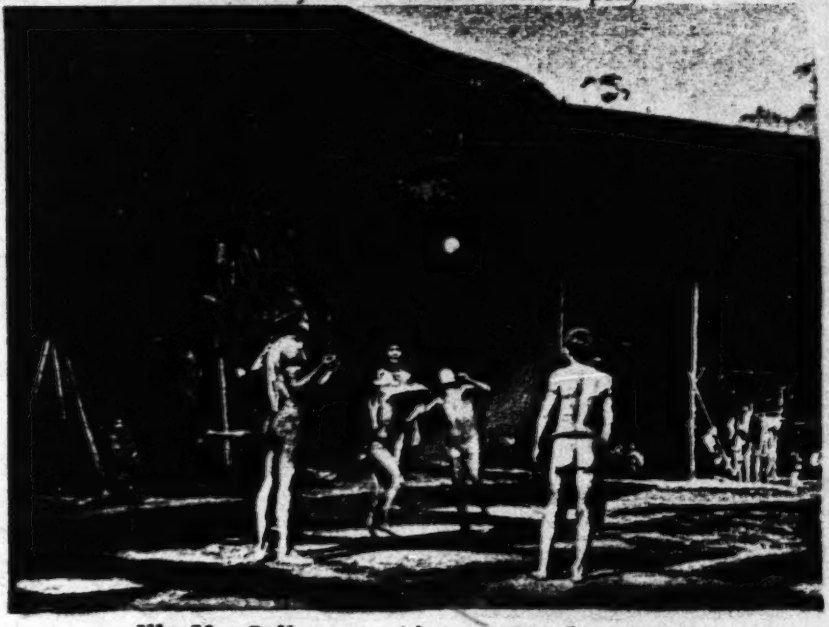

Ill. 50. Ball game with a monkey bladder

/223 cont./

776 The Great Jaguar has certain relations with Omao, the
793 deified hero of the Sanemá, since his name, "Omao-kõhe," indicates such a relationship, and it is possible perhaps to speak of a vocation for the office of priest, since the Sanemá Supreme Being admits him, after his encounter with the Great Jaguar, into the court of Omao.

793 According to South American ethnology, it is surprising
171 to find a "specialist" in a nomadic preagricultural society, but, as we shall state below, this is the second time that we have found a similar case in Venezuela; the other one was that of the Warao wiʃiráto.

793 The Sanema priest is a member of the court of Omao, not
776 only because the Great Jaguar changed him into a bat, but also
778 because Omao gave him a hikuladɛ which is invisible, although it has a spherical shape like a ball, and the larger the hikuladɛ, the more powerful the priest.

The hikuladɛ of the priest, the informant explained, is like a globe which the hɛwĩawán keeps in his chest. We shall also see later that the other religious practitioner of the Sanema
793 has a hikuladɛ too, but one which is essentially different. We
778 have the impression that the hikuladɛ of the priest contains "the
775 souls" of the ancestors who were destined by Omao to live there and help the priest. Since the data obtained are, in our opinion,
793 insufficient, we do not want to hazard peremptory statements,
778 but it seems certain that the Sanemá priest also cures the sick,
● 755 particularly those who are suffering from fever. Our informant
[114] explained to us that the ancestors (hikula-dĩb), the people of the
[775] hikuladɛ of the priest, are the ones who cure the fever when the priest brings the hikuladɛ out of his chest and deposits it for a time on the body of the patient.

Sometimes the desired effect is not attained, and that indicates that the soul of the /224/ victim has already abandoned the
793 body and does not want to return. The hfkula therefore constitute
778 a sort of supernatural "little pueblo" /pueblecito/ within the
628 Sanemá community in which the priest lives and do not wish to have any communication with the kfkula-dib /sic/ of the neighboring pueblo. The priests from nearby pueblos do not visit each

/224 cont./

793 The function of the scarab in the curing process is as fol-
● 755 lows: If the hɛ̃wĩawán wishes to cure a patient, he takes the
825 hĩkula from his chest and places it upon the patient. In order to effect the cure, the scarab opens an invisible hole in the chest of the patient, and the hikuladɛ̃ of the priest enters through there.
[775] /225/ Once within the patient's chest, the hĩkula-dĩb come out of the hikuladɛ̃ in order to combat and bring to the exterior the cause of the sickness. After a while the priest again takes possession of his hikuladɛ̃, and the treatment is fully successful. The informant did not want to mention the name of the caleopteran or even to talk about it, fearing that if he were to do so and if he were then to become sick, the priest would not be able to cure him, since the insect would not open a hole in the chest of the patient.

793 It is our impression that the priest only cures the ailments
755 that result from the presence, in the body of the sick person,
775 of the soul of a wandering deceased person who has approached the rancherias and whose very presence causes pain.

If we understand that the part of the Sanemá which goes to the house of Omao is the soul, we may say that the priest is concerned with the well-being of the same in the bodies of his companions, and that he represents the actualizing principle between the subject "the soul of the man" and the object "Omao," who enter into communication by means of the intervention of the priest. For the soul, which goes to live in the house [171] of Omao as hĩkula-dĩb, we noted down the name of hɛ̃npĩrtĩb, which essentially seems to correspond in its character to the "bole" of the Waica (Zerries, 1958b).

793 The hɛ̃wĩawán may send a hĩkula-dĩb to a neighboring
775 pueblo in order to cause sickness among its inhabitants, but his
754 primary function is to guarantee the well-being of the souls of his community and to present them eventually to Omao at death.
793 It is interesting in this respect to note that the Surara and Pakidai,
754 subgroups of the Yanoama of Brazil, are of the opinion that
825 sicknesses are transmitted by a shaman of a neighboring pueblo
050 by means of sparrow hawks and bats. The Sanemá say that the

/228 cont./

756 778 825 [533] The Sanemá sablí has great power over animals and plants represented in his hikuladɛ, with which he communicates while he is asleep. If he should dream about a dangerous animal, a jaguar for instance, he makes him sit down in order to begin the song õkamõ against jaguars. This song keeps the jaguar from the rancheria, but, when it is relatively near, the hikuladɛ of the sablí goes out to kill the jaguar in the forest, where the hunters will find him dead on the following day. But if the men sent by the sablí do not find the body of the jaguar, everybody remains in the rancheria on the following day, for they fear that the Great Jaguar may be in the forest and will kill anybody found in his way.

756 533 754 [825] [774] The sablíes sing almost every night, and the bigger the animal who appears to them in their dreams, the more intense is the song. In his songs, the sablí can send any híkula from his chest to go and kill a man in a foreign rancheria, however far it is. Usually he does this at night, and on the following day the victim's companions find him dead in his hammock.

774 756 [754] [753] [761] I have the impression that the híkulas belonging to the various species are, of themselves, absolutely passive and that they behave in an active way only at the command and wish of the sablí. Most sicknesses, including death, are caused by a híkula introduced into the body of the man by the intervention of the sablí and by his magical power.

756 ● 755 774 The priest sablí, influenced by the effects of yopo, shouts, sings, and dances around the patient. With this he attempts to scare off the harmful híkula which is striving to enter the body of the man. It is very often personified by a man who is symbolically fought by the híkula of the sablí and others chosen from his "pueblo of híkula" in his chest. The curative art of the sablí depends to a great degree on his diagnosis, according to which he chooses from his great híkula in his chest those which, by their skill, can combat the híkula or híkulas causing the sickness. It goes without saying that a young and inexperienced sablí makes mistakes in his diagnosis of identifying, from among all the possible thousands, the híkula which is causing the sickness sent by an enemy. It

/228 cont./

756 may also happen that a sablf with a small "pueblo" of hfkulas in
755 his chest does not have at his disposal a hfkula suitable for bringing
774 about the desired result. In this case, one turns to a more expert sablf, who will receive for his services presents of food, etc. A young sablf is always hopeful that the hfkula "pueblo" in his chest will grow. But the /229/ older the man becomes, the less opportunity he has of augmenting his power.

758 The potentiality of the hfkula of the sablf makes him in-
774 vulnerable, and should anyone shoot an arrow at him he breaks
[789] his hand and his weapons. For this reason the sablf is the best
[624] man to lead as the war chief, or at least he inspires and helps with his magical power and his singing along the way.

756 A sablf of great power does not die until all the hfkulas of
763 the plants, animals, and, some say, of the stars have come to
774 live in his chest, and, when they have done this, the power of
[754] his hfkula grows and brings about his death. Then the sablf informs his people, says farewell to all those whom he has protected during all the years of his adult life, and, as a last service, promises to kill the neighboring enemy group just as soon as his hfkula frees itself from his body. On dying, the red stone which he had, which had come down with a great noise from heaven, once again goes back up to the place from which it came (24).

24. I have not been able to gather any further details regarding this stone, nor have I seen it.

774 The hfkula of a man, animal, or plant, after death, does
775 not go to heaven, but rather congregates in a special place. Our informant told us that the hfkulas of male human beings later change after some time into butterfly jaguars /tigres mariposas/. In this form they continue the life that they had in the man; they recognize friends and enemies and the men of the group to which they belonged and also the enemy men against whom they fought. Sometimes a man will meet a butterfly jaguar in the forest; he realizes that he has met a hfkula of his group or one from a dead sablf. He does not kill it and allows the jaguar to go by quietly without even threatening it with his weapon.

/229 cont./

774 The world of the "specific" hfkulas is found on the other side of the horizon and in contrast with the world of the souls. There the sablfes live forever, together with the dead animals and plants.

562 773 825 [774] It is worthwhile to refer once again to the insistence of our Sanemá informant from the Upper Caura regarding the fact that women do not have specific hfkula. He asserted to us, furthermore, that women have a different origin from men and that there still exists a purely feminine world, and that each Sanemá pueblo has its corresponding hanekasá. The informant would not identify the animal of which he spoke, but we knew [773] that it was of a well-known species. From the mythology one can deduce that the first men were made from a dead tree by the cultural hero brothers, while the first woman was fished out of a very large river.

Omao wished to metamorphose into women the butterflies which danced /230/ like people on the shore of a river, because the hanekasá are a pueblo of females in which there are only three males to insure reproduction. This pueblo of amazons is an exact replica of the female population of the rancheria neighboring a pueblo, in the characteristics of which we found a concept of alter ego for the Sanemá women.

[774] It is possible that there exists some relationship between [763] the hfkula and the male, for it is said that men die from the "weight" of the hfkula of certain animals; but we are not certain on this point (cf. Zerries, 1958b; Becher, 1960, p. 92). We are [763] more certain about the relationship which exists between women and the hanekasá animal, since a woman (of the neighboring rancheria) dies for each hanekasá which is killed. Other religious concepts which are difficult to interpret for the time being may also enter here.

791 A third type of theurgist which seems to exist in Sanemá 755 society is the magician, the káilala. He does not sing like the sablf and has no influence over the specific hfkulas or over souls. He is the curer of the organism, of the body of a man. He cures by uttering tremendous cries, gives massages on the ailing and painful limbs of his patients. Suddenly he will surprise all those

2/1 [see additional data on the hanekasá on p 113 .. Analyst]

Y /230 cont./
791 present by taking out from under his tongue stones, small sticks,
● [755] vermin, etc. "Arrows" come out in the form of a black liquid,
of tobacco, etc. He spits out and tramples on what he has been
Y able to extract. The kâilala of the Sanemá also possesses power
[754] that is benevolent and malignant at the same time and can shoot
Y magic arrows at the enemy rancheria, thus causing sickness or
[171] death. If we compare this religious complex of the Sanemá
with that of the Warao, we find such a great similarity that
there cannot be the least doubt but that both have the same origin.

W Among the Warao the temple cult is strictly local and
793 cannot be carried out in a place where there is no priest; who
[771] may be a man or a woman, although for this office there is
[787] a special category in the society of the Warao. It is not heredi-
[776] tary and can be obtained by the special calling of the Supreme
Being, Kanobo.

W The son of a priest is generally considered as more suitable --
[171] by birth -- to fill the office of his father, but although the son
may be competent to succeed his father in a political position,
he does not necessarily have the right to succeed him as priest,
as happens among the Taino, where the son inherits the office of
priest together with the chieftainship.

W The Warao temple cult is furthermore completely separate
793 from shamanism and magic; religious matters are the responsi-
755 bility of especially designated persons who act only within their
776 own domain. /231/ The fact that the priest may cure sickness
[771] must not lead the observer to false conclusions, since it is logical,
according to Warao mentality, that the priest controls -- through the
power of God -- the spirits of heaven, whose desire is to take
everyone to the side of God, to whom they owe obedience and
W whose orders are transmitted to them by the mediation of the
793 priest. These are spirits objectively good, but which become
755 subjectively bad when with their metaphysical capability they
776 enter the body of a man, physically limited, causing a pressure,
753 that is, a sickness. In Warao terminology the priest cures by
778 "alleviating this pressure," bringing about as a result typical
ailments, such as fevers of various kinds, which he cures by
frightening away the spirits with merely his presence, but in
particularly critical and difficult cases he may also use one of his
maraca /gourd rattle/.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

follow. Then, in the same fashion, the medicine-man would announce the name of another fruit, let us say *olashi*. The chorus would repeat the same formula. And so on, through all the thirty-two fruits of the forest, the litany was sung. Then it was the animals' turn—those that provided meat. From the noble tapir right down to the worm: might he pass serenely from his muddy lair into the tomb of the Samatari stomach.

When the victualling business had thus been settled, the time was ripe for more general songs and prayers. One little song that turned up I had already heard among the Guayca and other Shirians. The tune was easily recognizable, catchy, even, but the words were strange, and probably not understood by the singers themselves. Then came isolated songs, and broken snatches of tunes that went on all night till the first gleam of dawn, when the priest and his flock gradually dropped off to sleep. The ceremony was over.

It might appear from a hasty glance at their ceremonies of propitiation and exorcism that the Shirians believe in the supernatural, but this is not so.

We often questioned Uarema on the subject, but his reply was always in the negative, and he laughed at the Makiritari's Canaima and the other tribes' Maguaritón. 'We don't believe in those stories,' he answered, invariably, in his picaroon Spanish. The Shirians do not believe in supernatural beings such as gods, devils and their intermediaries. Certain ceremonies of theirs, it is true, are addressed to powers which we should not consider as belonging to the material world, but to the Shirian mind they do belong to this world, like other evident natural forces.

For instance, the medicine-man's cures for the sick possess a value and a methodology corresponding to medicine as we practise it. The sickness—the bad thing—is clearly visible. The medicine-man is a man with a powerful voice, which frightens the bad thing as it might frighten a man. The bad thing is forced to take flight, leaving the sufferer free. Magic, as we conceive it, is not involved.

Another example will emphasize the Shirian viewpoint even better. When the Shirians are shooting the rapids, anyone on board without a definite job, such as steering or paddling, will make a gesture with his hand to keep the swirling waters well away. For us, such a gesture would imply some sort of superstitious idea, for there is no physical connection between the hand that is trying to ward off the water and the water itself. But to the Indians it is rather an example of a purely physical phenomenon arising out of the man's will-power and his determination that the boat shall not be swamped, which his

/479 cont./

75 If a child is frightened, the mother or guardian quickly
774 takes a handful of leaves and sweeps the place where the little creature was frightened. They do this so that the child's soul will not run off in fear and the child become sick.

/480/ Sometimes when a child is sick, they believe that the soul of the little creature has abandoned its body. Then they dispatch commissions in pursuit of it, which pass through the sites where they suspect that the child has been, and they come back sweeping the path with some branches and calling aloud for the little creature. If the child improves, it is because its soul was found; otherwise they must have missed the site where it was.

● 755 They believe that some sicknesses are due to the spirit or
[753] spirits which have got into the body of the sick person. In order
[776] for the sick person to recover his health, the harmful spirit must be cast out of his body. The one who tries to remove this spirit from the body of a sick person first takes a little "yopo" by way of the nasal passage. He then intones a crooning song, while he marches to and fro in front of the patient. Then, from time to time he approaches the latter and rubs the affected part, which he pinches and hits, pulling on it, threatening the spirit and asking it to go away, making all sorts of noises in order to frighten the spirit (or spirits) so that they will go away. After being with his patient for a few minutes, he resumes the crooning. This practice is repeated many times, and if the desired outcome is not obtained, other men will test their forces, trying to cast out from there the harmful spirit.

[776] They might then come to the conclusion that this is not a matter of a sickness caused by a spirit hidden in the body of the sick person, but rather by one which has hidden in some part of the settlement. Thus a group of men organizes a "hunt for the spirit." Each of them takes a little "yopo" by way of the nasal passage, and, after crooning for a short time in front of the sick person, they begin to make an inspection throughout the settlement, house by house, inspecting every basket and corner, swinging machetes and axes, pointing with the arrows, blowing through the "yopo" tubes as if they were blowguns, continuing the whole

/480 cont./

755 time their croonings and threats directed at the harmful spirit. From time to time they pick up some object which they take with them. Sometimes they finish by inspecting the whole circle of houses, but more frequently the one who heads the "hunt for the spirit" points with his finger at some object, which one of them picks up, the whole group suddenly rushing toward the hut where the sick person is.

755 /481/ Frequently one of those who participate in the "hunt
787 for the spirit" falls into a paroxysm, which he generally ends with a tremendous leap into the air, to fall unconscious on the ground. The women immediately bring water and after a while manage to revive him.

On one occasion a man who was crooning before a sick child suddenly lost his mind and began to say strange things. It seemed as though a strange power had seized him, to the point where it was necessary for six men to hold him so that the women could throw water on him to bring him out of his spell.

754 They also believe that a man can "send" a sickness or misfortune to another. Frequently the majority of the croonings which they intone in the evenings when they have taken "yopo" are designed to "send" calamities to their enemies.

754 On a certain occasion, when all were camped about two
752 hours of travel from the settlement, a girl was bitten by a poison-
123 ous snake. Her father came to get me to treat her. He told me that he was very angry, and he asked me if it were I who had sent the snake. He was very pleased when I assured him that I had not sent it.

754 They believe that a person can cause an enemy great harm, sickness, and even death, by gathering up "the track" of the enemy and rubbing it between the palms of the hands. For this reason the Guaika /Waica/ do not like to walk in front of somebody who is not in all certainty his friend, especially over soft earth.

The Guaika prepare certain powders which, when they are thrown in the air or blown in the direction of an enemy, can cause him annoyances or harm, according to what they believe, although the said enemy might be many miles away in another settlement.

/482 cont./

753 Any strange or rare object can be considered to have given rise to an epidemic. According to their knowledge and understanding, it might be some kind of foreign sorcery.

● 755 177 The Guaika appreciate our medicine for the treatment of sores and sicknesses, but for them this medicine is simply another enchanted or magical substance.

752 /483/ The treatment which they use for a bee sting is to tie the member thus hurt with a piece of vine or string above the sting. They also suck the poison out of the wound.

The treatment for the bite of a spider or snake is similar, tying and sucking. Later, the croonings are considered appropriate for driving away evil forces.

If a man is wounded by a poisoned dart, the wound is sucked and he will live. If he is wounded where the poison cannot be sucked out, he will quickly die. When an animal or a man is mortally wounded by a poisoned arrow, he falls, loses control of his muscles, and then dies, shuddering, perhaps when the poison reaches the heart or lungs.

751 727 One who has killed an enemy on a raid must sit down on the ground and, taking a little piece of vine (perhaps some two centimeters in length), has to scrape one side of his own head in different places. If he fails to do this, some evil may overtake him.

755 758 Sick persons receive all possible care, in addition to all the incantations and exorcisms which are cast against the opposing forces of the spirits.

758 A sick person is well fed. If it is not possible for him to take certain foods, the Guaika will make every possible effort to get for him what he can eat.

An old woman who had an infection in her mouth and a throat so large that it was almost impossible for her to swallow anything was given honey as food. They tipped her head back and poured the honey into her mouth. They had a fire lighted for her all the time, and someone was with her constantly. When the settlement moved, she was carried on a man's back by means of a strap or cord such as is customarily used for loads or small children.

123 /154 cont./
721 At this moment Dave London and I were taking a /155/ bath in a stream about 100 meters from the aldea. We heard a lot of shouting and crying. A few minutes later a couple of men from Majecototjeti came toward us, saying, "Come look, raiders," while they pointed toward the aldea. These men did not go on, carrying only a bunch of plantains and their weapons.

We dressed rapidly and went to the aldea. Most of the [752] men had gone off in pursuit of the raiders. The women were pour- [755] ing water on the wound, while the sorcerer sang over it. Soon all of the reserve water of the aldea was used up. They asked us if we could help them. We called Ed Killiam, who brought his snakebite kit and sucked out the wound with it, until we did not dare do any more for fear of his losing too much blood, since he was bleeding freely. We also prayed.

The boy almost stopped breathing, but after an hour and a half he began to come around. Soon after this he got up and went to his house; the paralyzing effect of the curare on the 726 lungs had passed. The pursuit of the raiders continued all night and across the uppermost part of the Manaviche River. In some way the chief and "Yelequei-jûu" managed to pass some of the raiders. Two boys came back, hungry and looking for wild fruits. They found some wild cacao and stopped to eat it. At this moment the chief wounded "Dujuue" in the abdomen with a wide arrow-point of bamboo. His companion wounded the other young man in the arm.

726 (If you asked a Yanomama what he would do if he were
763 wounded and knew that he was going to die, he would strike a
183 pose which is supposed to represent bravery, and he would also state the brave words which he would say.)

But "Dujuue" did not do this. Knowing that he was going to die, he sat down, calling for his mother. The Shibaatfa-tejeti later recovered his decomposed body and took it to the aldea to [764] burn it. The other wounded young man recovered. The Majecototjeti told them that both had died, until /156/ visitors from Boletjaotjeti came and told them that the other young man had recovered.

[P. xvii]

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Visitors waiting in village circle for hosts to invite them "home" (described in Chapter 4).

Shaman (carrying club) chanting to Hekura (demons) while curing a patient (man sitting in foreground). Patient later died of malaria (described in Chapter 2).

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11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

The noreshi animals are inherited patrilineally for men and matrilineally for women.[12] Kąobawä, for example, inherited his *noreshi* animal, the black monkey, from his father and transmitted it to his son. All his male kinsmen have the black monkey as their *noreshi*. Bahimi, Kąobawä's wife, has the dog for her *noreshi* animal, as does her mother and her daughter by Kąobawä. The *noreshi* animal of a woman always travels on the ground below the animal of the husband.

Noreshi animals duplicate the behavior of the person to whom they correspond. When Kąobawä goes hunting, so does his *noreshi* animal. When he is sick, so is his *noreshi* animal. If he takes a journey of two days, the animal likewise travels an equal distance, and so forth.

The *noreshi* animal and the person to whom it corresponds are always in complementary distribution. That is, they never come close to each other, for if they should see each other, they would both die. Their mutual existences are coextensive and coterminous: One lives only as long as the other, and both die at precisely the same instant. If a hunter should shoot Kąobawä's *noreshi* animal and kill it, Kąobawä would also be shot and would die. Similarly, if Kąobawä is shot by raiders and killed, his *noreshi* animal would suffer the same fate.

The soul aspect of the *noreshi*, however, can leave the human body at will and wander. Sickness results when the *noreshi* has left the body; unless it is brought back soon, the person will die. The *noreshi* is the vulnerable portion of the complete being, the part that is the target of witchcraft and harmful magic. The shamans (*shabori*) wage constant war against the evil demons (*bekura*) of enemy groups who have been sent to capture the *noreshi* parts of children. They, in turn, send their own *bekura* to capture the *noreshi* of enemy children; the wars that take place between men who raid to kill are likewise carried over into the domain of the supernatural.

When sickness is deemed to be the result of soul loss, the people who are closely related to the sick person hunt for his *noreshi*. I participated in one of these soul hunts. Kąobawä's group had set up a temporary camp across the river from its main village site, as they suspected raiders would attack them. While they were camped in their temporary village, one of the children became ill, and her malady was thought to be caused by soul loss. When the threat of raiders passed, the temporary camp was abandoned and the group moved back into the main village.

The child's condition worsened, so a group of women and children returned to the temporary camp, suspecting that the *noreshi* had remained there. I went along and, with the others, cut a branch from a shrub and began sweeping the site and calling for the *noreshi* to return. We swept the entire area and converged at one point. Everybody was convinced that the *noreshi* had been herded into this central point. We then lured the *noreshi* back across the river and into the body of the sick child.

The vulnerability of the *noreshi* to magical spells is best examplified by the fact that the shamans of every village spend most of their time chanting to the *bekura* (demons) with the intention of persuading them either to attack the *noreshi* of other (enemy) children or to drive off the *bekura* sent by enemy shamans. Again, the Yąnomamö used two of their concepts of the soul to describe photographs and tape recordings. They were very hostile to me when I attempted to take photographs, especially of children, because

[12]The inheritance of these "alter-ego" animals has nothing to do with marriage rules and patrilineage exogamy.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

SHAMANS The nature of the relationship between man and spirit is largely one of hostility. The shamans, by and large, spend most of their time casting charms on enemies and enjoining their own personal demons to prevent harm from befalling the local people. Magic and curing are intimately bound up in shamanism, the practitioner devoting his efforts alternatively to causing and curing sickness.

The demons that the shamans contact are *bekura*, very tiny humanoid beings that dwell on rocks and mountains. Particularly successful shamans can control these demons to such an extent that the *bekura* will come and live inside the chest of the shaman. Each shaman solicits the aid of numerous *bekura* and attempts to lure them into his body.

Men who want to become shamans (*shabori*) go through a simple rite of fasting and chastity. They sit before their houses, use only a few trails, eat very little, and spend most of their time in a contemplative stupor brought about by hunger and drugs. After several days of this, the initiate has entered the world of the *shabori*, and can practice his skill. Each village has as many *shabori* as there are men who wish to enter this status: probably half of the men in each village are shamans.

Rerebawä told me that he was going to become a *shabori*, as he enjoyed taking the drugs and making contact with the spirit world. He decided to do this because his wife is still nursing their youngest child so that he cannot have sexual relationships with her anyway; the obligatory chastity associated with becoming a shaman will not be as difficult now as it would be when his wife weans the child. No *bekura* will dwell in the chest of a novice *shabori* who continues to have sexual relationships. After the practitioner has captured the *bekura* and they become acquainted with him, they will stay in his chest after he resumes his sexual activities.

Contact with the *bekura* is achieved by taking drugs. Particularly adept *shabori* can contact their *bekura* with only a pinch of drug, which they inhale directly from their fingers. Most of them, however, take a large dose of the drug by means of the hollow blowing tube. The *shabori* then prances back and forth in front of his house and chants to the demons he attempts to control, enjoining them to descend on enemies and cause them sickness (see Fig. 2–9). If he is curing someone, he chants before the house of the patient, rubs him, massages him, and draws the evil spirit causing the sickness to some extremity, such as an arm or leg. Then he sucks or pulls the spirit out and carries it away from the sick person, either vomiting it out or throwing it away, depending on how he extracted it originally. The Yąnomamö do not employ medicines made from plants or animals. Consequently, they rely exclusively on the cures that the *shabori* effect, fighting supernatural ills with supernatural medicine.

One of the surprises of my field experience was that I had to spend a great deal of time curing the sick, and my medicines were always in demand. The sick people, however, always took their illnesses to the *shabori* after I had treated them—one cannot be too careful.

CONCLUSION In summary, the Yąnomamö have effected an adaptation to their three environments. This is not to say that other means and techniques could not do the job equally well; but the peculiar combination of technology, social organization, and cosmology found among the Yąnomamö distinguishes them as a group from all other tribes. Although their technology is primitive, it permits them to exploit their jungle habitat sufficiently well to provide them with the wherewithal of physical comfort. The nature of their economy—slash-and-burn agriculture—coupled with the fact that they

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

most common way for a child's soul to escape is to leave by way of the mouth when the child cries. Thus, mothers are quick to hush a bawling baby in order to prevent its soul from escaping. The child's soul can be recovered by sweeping the ground in the vicinity where it most probably escaped, calling for it while sweeping the area with a particular kind of branch. I once helped gather up the soul of a sick child in this fashion, luring it back into the sick baby. One of the contributions I made, in addition to helping with the calling and sweeping, was a dose of medicine for the child's diarrhea. A consequence of this set of attitudes about the vulnerability of children is that much of the village's activity with respect to shamanism and curing is directed toward the children.

RELATIVES BY BLOOD AND BY MARRIAGE Many forms of interpersonal behavior stem largely from the social roles implied in the kinship system. To be sure, some kinship behavior reflects the two distinctions of age and sex discussed above, for the terminology of kinship itself employs discriminations of this kind. For example, there are terms to distinguish older siblings from younger siblings and terms used by members of one sex only in reference to those of the opposite sex.

The relationship between kinship terms and biological parentage is not the same in the Yąnomamö language as it is in our own. As was shown in the first section of this chapter, people may stand in a child relationship to a number of individuals; that is, it is possible to have multiple "mothers" and "fathers" in Yąnomamö society. The term for mother and father conveys as much of a social as a biological relationship between individuals, and in the daily activities of the Yąnomamö it is the social implications of kinship roles that are most important.

What is implied in the kinship roles can best be seen in the way the kinship terms themselves are formed. All primary kinship terms take the ending *"-mou"* when used to describe the relationship between individuals. Thus, *osbeya* means "my younger sibling," but *osbemou* means that individual X *behaves* toward individual Y *as a younger sibling*. This ending, *-mou*, also occurs in nonkinship usage to express "a way of behaving," "to execute a particular activity in a specified manner," or "to perform the activity that is implied by the word to which *-mou* is affixed." For example, *oko* means fresh-water crab and *okomou* means "to go hunting for crabs"; *bowashi* means "a mischievous white monkey" and *bowashimou* means "to act mischievously, to monkey around"; *nowa naba* means "enemy," and *nowa nabamou* means "to become an enemy by behaving objectionably"; *waiteri* means "fierce" and *waiterimou* means "to behave ferociously."

Whenever I would ask the Yąnomamö a question such as, "What do you call Kąobawä?" the answers would always be in the form of a kinship term to which *"-mou"* was affixed, but rarely in the form "I say such-and-such to him." Calling an individual by a specific term is, however, implied in the "way of behaving" toward that individual. But despite the fact that the Yąnomamö can say, literally, "I call him father" (*kama kä iba, baya ya kuu*), they invariably say *"ya bŏömou"*—"I behave toward him as a child."[20] Thus, they express their relationships to others in terms of *ways of behavior*. Each kinship category implies a set of these behavioral norms, and one's social life in the community is established with respect to all other individuals by the kinship terminology employed in each particular case.

[20]Although the word *bŏŏ* translates literally as "father," the expression *ya bŏömou* can best be understood with the translation given above.

At the evening meal he refused to take a portion of the meat so that the others could have more. Later in the evening, he appeared at my hut begging for a can of sardines to satisfy his hunger for meat. He preferred to go hungry rather than risk the onus of being accused of poor marksmanship or stinginess.

Both sexes participate in the cooking, although the women do the greater share of it. Food preparation is not elaborate and rarely requires much labor, time, or paraphernalia. Spices are never used, although the salty ashes of a particular kind of tree are sometimes mixed with water to form a condiment of sorts. The food is dunked into the salty liquid and eaten.

Everyone eats in his hammock using his fingers for utensils. Some meals cannot be eaten from a reclining position, so the members of the family squat in a circle around the common dish. For example, large quantities of tiny fish are cooked by wrapping them in leaves and cooking them in the hot coals. When the fish are done, the package is spread open, and everyone shares its contents.

Animals are never skinned before cooking. They are merely put over the fire after their entrails have been removed, and roasted, head, fur, claws, and all. Most of the fur is singed off in the process of cooking. The animal is dismembered by hand. The head, particularly the head of a monkey, is highly prized because the brain is considered a delicacy. The most common meat is monkey, of which there are several varieties, so that this delicacy is enjoyed rather frequently by the Yąnomamö.

By the time supper is over it is nearly dark. The fires are prepared for the evening; if someone has allowed his own fire to go out during the day, he simply borrows two glowing sticks from a neighbor and rekindles his own hearth. The entrances to the village are sealed off with dry brush so that prowlers can not enter without raising an alarm. Before retiring to their hammocks, the Yąnomamö first sit on them and wipe the bottoms of their bare feet together. This rubs off most of the debris that has accumulated on them during the course of the day. Everyone sleeps naked and as close to the fire as possible. Despite the inevitable last-minute visiting, things are usually quiet in the village by the time it is dark.

Things are not always quiet after dark. If anyone in the village is sick, a shaman will chant to the malevolent spirits most of the night to exorcise them. Or, should anyone be mourning a dead kinsman, he or she will sob and wail long after the others have fallen asleep. Occasionally, a fight will break out between a husband and wife, and soon everybody in the village will be screaming, expressing opinions on the dispute. The shouting may continue sporadically for hours, dying down only to break out anew as someone gets a fresh insight into the problem. Once in a while someone gives a long, loud speech voicing his opinion on the world in general. Those who are interested may add their own comments, but the audience usually grumbles about the noise and falls asleep.

Status Differences and Activities

Daily activities, except those concerning gardening and visiting, do not vary much from season to season. Much of the variation that does occur is a function of one's age or sex, as was shown above.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

and guests that gradually died off as each group busied itself in preparation for the dance.

Shortly after noon a rumor circulated through the village that the visitors had been raiding the gardens at night and stealing plantains. A number of people, particularly older men, were visibly upset by this new information, giving rise to another rumor that there would be a chest-pounding duel to set the matter straight. The guests had already worn their welcome thin by arriving uninvited a week in advance and by eating excessively. Their hosts were becoming angry with them, as it was all too obvious that they were deliberately taxing their hosts' patience; they were intimidating them.

The men of the host group had finished their preparations for the feast; they were all painted in red and black, bearing colorful feathers. They had cleaned the debris from their houses, had finished hauling out the weeds they had picked from the village clearing, and had brought in quantities of food to give their guests. Now, it was time for them to take *ebene*, their hallucinogenic drug. They separated into several groups and began blowing the brownish-green powder up each other's nostrils with 3-foot long hollow tubes. As the drug would be administered, each recipient would reel from the concussion of air, groan, and stagger off to some convenient post to vomit. Within ten minutes of taking the drug, the men would be bleary-eyed and wild, prancing around in front of their houses, stopping occasionally to vomit or to catch their breath. In each group there would be one man particularly adept at chanting to the *hekura*, the mountain demons, and he would soon take over the show, while the others retired to the sidelines in a stupor, green slime dripping from their nostrils. Should there be sick people in the village, the adept chanters—the *shabori*—would cure them by chanting, massaging, sucking, and vomiting out the evil spirit that caused the sickness. Otherwise, they would chant about other things, perhaps sending their *hekura* to enemy villages to eat the souls of children, or enjoining them to prevent their enemies from doing the same. Occasionally, one of the men takes too much of the drug and become violent. On this particular occasion, Shiimima, one of Kąobawä's brothers, grabbed his bow and arrows and ran to the center of the village. This caused a minor sensation for a moment, but one of the men managed to catch and disarm him, hiding his weapons so he could not find them. Things returned to normal again, and the other participants in the drug-taking began chanting to Shiimima to restore him to his senses. The chanting lasted for an hour or so, and the participants, one by one, returned to their houses to clean up their paint jobs; most of them had smeared their careful work by vomiting all over themselves.

While the men were taking their drugs, the women were busy painting and decorating themselves with feathers and red pigment. The visitors, also, were busy at the same tasks, and the excitement of the feast reached fever proportions by mid-afternoon. A few women were still busy finishing trade baskets, while Kąobawä's younger brothers continued with the monotonous cooking of what seemed to them an endless number of plantains.

Finally, an old man from the visiting group entered the village and marched unceremoniously across the clearing while the members of Kąobawä's group cheered him. He was too old to join the dancing, but too respected to wait behind with the women and children while the younger men put on their display. This was evidence that the visitors were about to send in their delegate to accept the feast invitation at Kąobawä's house.